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December 26-29, 1984

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January 22, 1985

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FEMAP/Nogales Trip and Research
Activities Report

In accordance with Request for Services (Cooperative Agreement No. DPE-3004-A-00-2018-00) to pretest FEMAP Radio spots in four Mexican cities, I carried out the necessary motivational research in Nogales.

1. From December 7 to 9, 1984, four Focus Group Discussions were held in Nogales with male and female participants, evaluating nine radio spots previously selected and already tested in Ciudad Juarez, Monterrey, Matamoros and Coatzacoalcos.

2. The sample was composed of respondents from urban and peri-urban low income groups : one male group with twelve participants, 20 to 45 years of age; three female groups with altogether 29 participants, 16 to 39 years of age. Most respondents were non-contraceptive users; all women had children, most of the younger women were unwed mothers having several children from different fathers.

3. Research activities included also discovering local sociocultural and environmental factors that could influence family planning behavior. In this report it was considered important to include a section on these findings, since the disclosed phenomena explain certain attitudes of the sample.

4. On Sunday afternoon I traveled back to Mexico City via Tucson, Ariz. (nearest airport to Nogales), arriving in the late evening of December 9, 1984.

5. Analysis/interpretation of collected data, as well as report writing, was carried out from December 26 to 29,

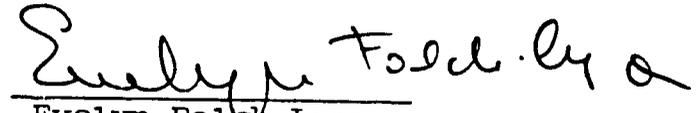


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and in January 1985 up to now.

6. Summarized findings, with recommendations,
are enclosed.


Evelyn Folch-Lyon

Enclosure



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I N T R O D U C T I O N

FEMAP's Family Planning radio spots were tested for appropriateness in Nogales . Fieldwork was carried out from December 7 to 9, 1984, with qualitative (motivational) research techniques.

As in other locations where the campaign was pre-tested, nine radio spots were used as stimulus for focus group discussions with urban and peri-urban low socioeconomic groups. Four FGD were carried out with male and female mainly non-contraceptive users (which contrasts with the other locations, where contraceptive users were predominant although also non-contraceptive users were present in the different groups). One male group brought together ^{twelve} participants from 20 to 45 years of age, the female groups, with altogether 29 participants, ranged from 16 to 39 years.

Topics researched were the same as in other cities/locations : credibility, comprehension, acceptance and interest in messages, appropriateness of production values to local customs, understanding and perceptions related to each concept, compatibility with perceived needs, favorable/unfavorable connotations, etc.

Spots with obvious informative value were not tested, just as was the case in Matamoros, Monterrey, Coatzacoalcas.

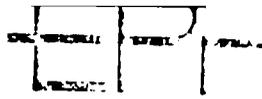
Main reason for not testing such spots was that participants cannot "absorb" a too large number of stimuli during the FGD ; therefore a selection had to be made.

The Nogales-results show, however, that it would be convenient to also evaluate simpler, mainly informative storyboards. It is suggested that such messages be tested also with another sample, of the same demographic and cultural variables.

Spots evaluated in Nogales were :

- 1 - Doña Rosita explains reason of cheerfulness to neighbor
- 2 - Rosita explains why she decided to plan her family
- 3 - Rosita explains spacing to neighbor still wanting another child. Recommends promotoras
- 4 - Rosita talks to neighbor who has just undergone tubal ligation
- 5 - Rosita and husband talk about family planning (husband invites her to movies, she accepts, always has time)
- 6 - Neighbor asks whether tubal ligation is possible when a woman is not pregnant
- 7 - Juan recommends Femap clinic on grounds of inexpensive delivery services, also tells neighbor to inquire about family planning
- 8 - Juan gives advice on vasectomy, offering himself as testimony
- 9 - Neighbor declares that he has decided to be vasectomized.

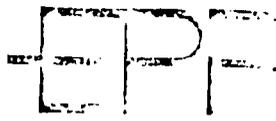
Again, comparisons with other cities where the same spots were tested have been effected. As far as production efforts and costs are concerned, an important finding is that the Ciudad Juarez spots could be broadcast in Nogales since local intonation is very similar. However, although production could take place in Cd. Juarez, changes have to be made as far as the rhetoric is concerned, also with respect to text.



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In this report the writer found it important to add a section on sociocultural and environmental factors in Nogales, since these phenomena explain some of the findings.



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SUMMARIZED FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

I SOCIOCULTURAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS

1. Nogales, with 200,000 inhabitants, is growing rapidly through migration from other Mexican states and even Central American countries; migrants hope to enter the U.S., are often unable to do so, find jobs, however, in numerous U.S. licensed/owned factories (maquiladoras) who take advantage of inexpensive labor on the Mexican side and re-export their goods to the U.S.

2. There is no unemployment in Nogales (this seems to be one difference with respect to Matamoros and also Ciudad Juarez) ; shortage of workers is more the rule ; factories have to offer special incentives to keep working force : salaries are higher than the usual minimum paid to unskilled workers; "despensas" (food provisions) and other fringe benefits are provided.

3. A large part of the labor force - as in most "maquiladoras" along the U.S. border (also in Ciudad Juarez and Matamoros)-is composed of women. Minimum age to be employed is usually 16; in Nogales age seems to have been lowered to 14 ; many young girls of that age are already working full-time shifts. It is also possible that some of the girls declare they are older, in order to be accepted.

4. In spite of apparently slightly better working conditions, living conditions in low income areas are extremely primitive. Nearness of U.S. border does not seem to bring certain material comforts, as in Matamoros.

A difficult topography contributes to difficult housing situation. The city is spread over sometimes steep hills ; squatters occupying slopes, where access is not easy, rarely have municipal services. Mostly there are no

streets, sewer system, running water. If a common water faucet is available, pipes often break down. Water is provided by trucks, women carry large buckets uphill.

As a result of lack of electricity, there is no TV; households often do not even have radios.

5. As far as family planning activities/promotion is concerned, greatest problem is the large amount of extremely young girls (12 years and even younger) getting pregnant; they do not use contraceptives, obviously, as long as they are virgins, but since they seem to be an easy prey either for married men or for gang members called "Cholos" (who themselves often are only 15, 16), they get pregnant quickly. The most common pattern seems to be that the males "blackmail" these young girls into sexual relations: "If you don't, you'll never see me again. I'll go with the girl next door, she will accept, she loves me more than you".

6. Apparently the number of very young unwed mothers is huge. According to their own testimony they give in because "first they talk so nicely to you (le hablan a uno tan bonito) until you fall in love, then they threaten to leave you if you don't give in".

As soon as the girl gets pregnant, the boy leaves her anyway. If she finds him he claims cynically the child is not his.

In two of the three FGD with female participants most of them were unwed mothers of 16 or 17 already with two or even three children, usually of different fathers. According to older women and to Promotoras, the first experience and grave disappointment is not enough for the adolescent girl to either take contraceptives and/or be less gullible: "As soon as the next guy talks nice to her, there she goes again", and another pregnancy is the result.

7. Pregnant abandoned adolescents try to go to work at the maquiladoras, are turned down after lab tests disclosing pregnancy, have to wait until the child is born. Child is left with the girl's mother or is given away ("muchas los regalan"); sometimes can be left at nurseries operated by official institutions like DIF, but weekly fee of \$1,500 pesos for each child is too much for a girl earning \$5,500 pesos a week, especially if she has two or three babies.

8. Men, younger and older, are indifferent, callous and even contemptuous with respect to the above. Girls are irresponsible, deserve what they get, are stupid if they got pregnant ("that's her fault if she got pregnant.. I didn't force her"). Another favorite version is that girls get pregnant because it is "good business" ("se embarazan como negocio") : they collect pay from the Mexican Social Security, "they get \$40,000 pesos for each pregnancy". The Seguro Social in fact pays the girl's salary when she is on maternity leave. This check is interpreted by men as "the Seguro Social pays them to get pregnant" (sic).

They therefore - and for other reasons which fall into the realm of social/psychological pathology - feel totally unconcerned, could not care less about the girl's fate, are out to have a good time with as many girls as possible : "There is always one available ('una voluntaria')... "here there are 180,000 women in the factories!" (statistical error but welcome chance to fantasize about unlimited sexual chances).



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9. Men who do not take advantage of the "unlimited female hunting ground" open to them are ridiculed by their peer group, even by their close relatives. "My brother-in-law is all the time looking for another girl to make her pregnant. Since my husband is not like that, he tries to convince him, calls him an idiot ("pendejo").

II OVERALL EVALUATION

1. The situation described determines specific attitudes towards a family planning radio campaign. Men are indifferent, as long as they are not approached by radio messages, i.e. as long as nothing is demanded from them they do not care whether family planning is recommended or not.

2. Furthermore, family planning is a "matter for women" because "we do not get pregnant" (smug satisfaction), "it is their problem".

3. Vasectomy is indignantly rejected on the same grounds as described previously (see Ciudad Juarez, Monterrey reports). In spite of certain knowledge that sexual powers remain the same, vasectomy is openly likened to castration, no matter what arguments to the contrary are used. To be "capado" (castrated) is the worst disgrace in one's peer group, community, etc. No matter how secret this "shameful operation" is tried to be kept, "you know how it is.. these secrets always leak out... others would point their fingers at the 'capado', despise him..."

4. Women are also convinced that family planning is a female matter; only promotoras and a few older women have worked up sufficient indignation at male cynical behavior to insist on male involvement, i/e. having spots directed at them.

Many women ,(mostly non-contraceptive users) are too used to the role imposed on them since early youth to accept the suggestion that their husband might take them out (go to the movies). External limitations have become internalized, they declare they dislike going out, accept that the husband

leads an independent life outside the home. A few younger mothers react positively to Spot 5, wish for a better life. However, the most intelligent among them believe that "we must help ourselves.. men are not going to lift one little finger for us".

Absence of a permanent partner is so frequent that Spot 5 mainly reminds women of their lonely struggles.

5. The large number of unwed mothers with very low formal education and considerable psychological immaturity, working full time shifts (different shifts), poses special problems if they are to benefit from this communication campaign:

- a) Only very simple information is grasped
- b) Small talk in the spots distracts them at once from main message
- c) They rarely listen to the radio. If they do, they only listen to popular stations with strident songs by popular music idols; young males prefer tape recorders.

6. Fear with regard to most contraceptive measures predominates among younger women, also indifference towards prevention (i.e. "other" girls get pregnant, "it wouldn't happen to me"). Among men, ignorance coupled with indifference prevails.

Fear stems from negative experiences at the Seguro Social (personal or rumors) :

- a) Women scheduled for tubal ligation are kept hospitalized for days waiting for availability of operating room, go without food in preparation for anesthesia, since "any minute now it might be your turn"
- b) It is claimed that operation is not always successful, complications appear, perhaps other ailments are blamed on tubal ligation
- c) Delivery is frequently a problem at the Seguro

Social : medical or paramedical personnel overworked or not available.

7. Male ignorance stems from a mixture of misunderstandings and total lack of information:

a) The pill has to be taken only when the couple has sex ; but then it is better to take two pills at once since "one is not strong enough" to avoid pregnancy (!).

b) The rhythm method is reversed : the fertile days are the days of menstruation plus eight days following menstruation; after that the woman is not fertile.

This shows that formerly reported data by this writer (see NFP Study, January 1984) are confirmed.

It also shows that adequate, simple information on pill use has to be "hammered" into men. If they accept contraception they might convince/force the wife to take 2 pills at once after sex, "to be sure it works".

8. As a radio character, "Doña Rosita" is well assimilated, does not seem to be too motivating (she is married, young female audience rarely is).

9. There is some awareness of family planning communication campaigns (radio), apparently coming from the US-side. Messages, in this ^{new, FENAP} campaign, have to be very simple and informative, will help those who are already burdened with many children; will - according to older men and women - not "be listened to by those who need it most", i.e. young boys and girls.

10. The execution itself of the different spots does not have to change as far as the typical "norteño"-accent is concerned. However, improvements are necessary with regard to rhetoric (slower speech, pauses, key words, etc.).

III SPECIFIC EVALUATION OF INDIVIDUAL STORYBOARDS/SPOTS

SPOT 1 Doña Rosita explains her cheerfulness to neighbor, relates it to family planning and a happy marital life

1. Messages understood relate to leading a better life (financially) when there are few children, and to ensuring a better education for them. This "standard" interpretation of family planning shows that marital happiness is not grasped, is perhaps a disturbing factor since such a large proportion of very young mothers are abandoned by the male, have to raise their children by themselves or with the help of their own mother.

2. When "marital happiness", being in agreement with one's husband, is pointed out, participants react aggressively: "There is no need to say that they get along well together", "one has to take care of oneself... men don't care".

3. Spot is of little motivating force, for men or for women. Both consider the message to be very "simple" ("está muy sencillo"), which means that merely a well-known fact is being repeated : i.e. the need to plan one's family, not to have too many children: "Things are too expensive... formerly one could have ten children and bring them up well; now, more than four or five is difficult".

4. Scarce attention and interest are the result. Spot does not seem adequate to start the series of radio spots, since lack of comprehension of one of the important messages leads to lack of interest in Doña Rosita, orⁱⁿ the neighbor's intentions (to also plan her family).

SPOT 2 Rosita is asked why she decided to plan her family; she emphasizes financial hardship

1. Message is much better understood and much more persuasive. Lack of money, daily struggle to "make ends meet", absorbs mental and emotional capacity of most women.

2. It is welcomed that the two characters "do not talk so much" (as in Spot 1), since this is confusing due to scarce schooling, scarce intellectual development. Women are more likely to be confused (by Spot 1), while men are indifferen-

3. Message of Spot 2 is motivating both for men and women. Manner of speech and general production values do not have to be changed with respect to those produced in Ciudad Juarez.

4. This spot should be used to start the series of radio spot, while Spot 1 should be eliminated.

SPOT 3 Rosita explains spacing to neighbor still wanting another child. Services of Promotoras are recommended.

1. In general, main message is that "she wants to have another child because she has too few". Two to three children are too few, since "they may die". Although many children are a burden, too few are just as bad for women continuously reminded (by their own situation or that of others) that her partner may leave her at any moment and she will be left alone. Implicitly there is fear of lonely old age.

2. Men also consider that there is no adequate family life if there are few children. Approve of the woman's intention to still have another child.

3. Doña Rosita is somehow likened to a promotora; main trait recognized in her is cheerfulness.

4. To look for a promotora does not seem to be very relevant to women in Nogales, they declare that they prefer to go to the Clinic. "The doctor has to give you the pill".

5. With some difficulty and additional explanation, the spacing concept is understood. Spacing is approved by all women as long as it is "not too long". Two, three years are adequate, "so that you don't have to wash so much" (diapers).

It is likely that frequent repetition of the spot will be able to dispel difficulties in grasping the spacing concept.

SPOT 4 Rosita talks to neighbor who has just undergone tubal ligation

1. Spot is persuasive mainly because women agree that after a "sufficient" number of children (see above) every sexual act becomes a "mortificación" and worry of another pregnancy.

2. Men show little interest, especially the younger one's. Older men tend to disapprove tubal ligation, women "start getting sick", etc.

3. The concept itself is frightening for most women, since changes in personal situation may "require" having still more children and the step is irreversible. This applies to the large amount of unmarried mothers who know that another partner - who may (as they hope) appear sometime in the future - will demand children from her.

4. On the other hand, rumors about consequences are frequent, include severe diseases, death, obesity ("my sister is an unwed mother - 'madre soltera' - and has four children, we tell her to get an operation but she is afraid of getting fat"). Also, dangers of anesthesia (spinal blockage) appear again, seem to arise from practices at the Seguro Social : "For a long time they cannot walk".

5. Fears related to tubal ligation are considered to be diminished only by "pláticas" (lectures, talks) offered by adequately trained professionals (physicians, nurses).

6. Speed of recovery does not have much credibility and is, furthermore, not the main message which is grasped, at least when spot is heard only two or three times.

7. Spot can be broadcasted since it has informative value, but only after audience (especially female audience) has been exposed to radio information on other, less feared contraceptive methods (see Recommendations).

SPOT 5 Rosita's husband invites her to movies, she accepts, explains her cheerfulness and relates it to small number of children.

1. Lack of credibility is the main feature of the message. Husband does not or cannot invite wife to movies, small children cannot be left alone.

2. The idea of going out and leaving children behind reminds women of the nursery services offered by some official health care institutions: "For each child they charge you \$1500 pesos a week", a sum which cannot be afforded when three or four children have to be put in the nursery and the husband - or the working women with no husband - earns the minimum salary (approx. \$5,500 pesos a week).

3. Many married participants (or living in union) were so used to centering their life around home and children since their earliest youth, that they acutely dislike the idea of "going out", although they accept their partners' independent life outside the home. The spot is not motivating for them.

4. A few younger, more vivacious and bright women approve of the message, hope that men will be encouraged to invite wife.

SPOT 6 Rosita gives advice on tubal ligation, informs that it is possible even if woman is not pregnant (about to deliver).

1. Spot has informative but not persuasive value. Some women indeed do not know that tubal ligation is possible at any time, usually wait until they have another child.

2. Lack of persuasiveness is due to negative experiences at the Seguro Social, and corresponding fast-spreading rumors. (See Overall Evaluation).

3. Spot does not inform about the fact that the operation is free. This is an important message which should be added. Women believe that only at the Seguro Social they can get free services, anywhere else they have to pay.

SPOT 7 Don Juan recommends Femap clinic on grounds of inexpensive delivery services, also tells neighbor to inquire about family planning

1. This is motivating for men. Women object to the spot since attention will be focused on lack of expense, men will be encouraged to "make the wife again pregnant",
unmarried

2. Younger/males are not interested either in lack of expense or family planning, since they are used to girls working in factories and if these get pregnant, the Seguro Social "pays them". And family planning is a woman's job, if a girl gets pregnant she is merely "stupid", he is not concerned. "The girls always say it is our fault, but that is not true. The girls want to get pregnant to get money from the Seguro Social".

3. Spot would have to be changed or left out. Since the largest part of the population (especially female) works and is therefore covered by the services from the Seguro Social, lack of money for the doctor is meaningless - one can always go to the Seguro.

SPOT 8 Advice on vasectomy; testimony by Don Juan.
SPOT 9 Male character declares he has decided to be vasectomized.

1. Same reactions as in other towns. Women approve message, consider it totally unrealistic to try to approach men with the idea of vasectomy.

2. Men become indignant, talk of "castration" (see Overall Evaluation), older men become protective with regard to the younger : "I would never consider it for me although I have many children and am older, but I still want to have fun (i.e. have sex with young adolescent girls, working at the factories)... why should they (younger men) accept something like that?"

3. A wife's ill health is no reason for vasectomy or any other male participation in fertility control. "It is better to divorce her and marry another one".

4. At present, there is little sense in broadcasting these spots.